Chatterton, More and Bristol cultural life in the 1760s

Although Meyerstein, Taylor and others have done much to uncover Chatterton's place in Bristol culture, they have not really altered the stereotype, nurtured by Chatterton himself and by the Chatterton controversy, that Bristol in the 1760s was a business-dominated and unliterary city, incapable of recognising the talents of the young genius.[1] In this essay I will present the case for a culturally rich and diverse Bristol, in which Chatterton's problem was partly his background and the circle he found himself associated with and partly that he was seeking to forge an instant career as a literary figure, whereas Bristol's cultural life was largely based on careers in the professions or on the amateur contributions of those who had other means of support. Read more carefully, Chatterton's own comments reveal his awareness (and passionate rejection) of these alternative futures within Bristol, which determined his decision to seek his future in London in 1770.

One way to focus this question is to compare Chatterton with another young Bristolian of the same generation, Hannah More. We are accustomed to see them as polar opposites: if Chatterton is the 'first romantic', then More has recently been dubbed 'the first Victorian'.[2] Yet she was in fact seven years his senior, and there were considerable similarities in their early careers and in their search for cultural patronage. Despite the resurgence of interest in More, her Bristol period is little understood, and the comparison with Chatterton throws new light on the challenges and opportunities that Bristol culture posed to both of them. More moved in the circles from which Chatterton was excluded, and in her Bristol years, at least, she accepted the restraints on the construction of a personal career (even greater for a woman), which Chatterton rejected, before, like him, travelling to London to find a new public persona. Her Bristol connections, however, allowed her to enter London life as the protégé of Garrick and Johnson, to conduct that literary life on her own moral terms and to withdraw from it when, following Garrick's death, she could no longer reconcile its demands with her own self-image.

Hannah More was born in 1745; Chatterton in 1752. Both were the children of charity schoolmasters, More's father running a school at Fishponds supported by the Berkeley family, while Thomas Chatterton senior was master of the Pile Street charity school. Jacob More had been educated as a gentleman's son but forced to make a living in teaching; the elder Chatterton's background is obscure but he clearly had literary as well as musical interests, singing in the Cathedral choir. Hannah was initially educated by her family, like her redoubtable sisters, who by 1758 had moved, with their father, into Bristol and by 1762 opened their girls' school in Park Street, which was to become one of the leading schools in England over the next two decades. Chatterton's father having died before his birth, he apparently began his schooling at the Pile Street School under the replacement master, but perhaps not surprisingly he did not settle in. After a gap, in which one suspects he might have gone to the other charity school which met within St Mary Redcliffe church itself (in the chapel behind the chancel), he was enrolled aged eight in Colston's Hospital. Here Chatterton was formally educated in the 3 Rs for a future in commerce, without any access to classical education, although in practice the school usher, Thomas Phillips, 'great master of the boundless lyre'[3], nurtured in him and others a lively literary interest. More, by contrast, was educated not only in the 3Rs and French, but also in the classics, which many thought inappropriate for ladies: throughout her later writings she insisted on the need for women to be educated properly and not merely in fashionable or housewifely accomplishments. Chatterton left school to an apprenticeship as a clerk in the office of the attorney Lambert (himself active in Bristol's theatre life), where he was allowed extensive leisure to pursue his antiquarian and literary interests using the books in the office. More was based at her sisters' school, but without becoming a full teacher, giving her considerable freedom, and in 1773 her independence as a single woman was assured when, following his three successive failures to honour their engagement, William Turner granted her a life annuity of £200 per annum. Chatterton threw up his apprenticeship and headed for London in 1770, where he appears to have been making a reasonable living as a periodicals contributor before his death, while More did not go there until three years later. She was soon taken up by the Garricks and their circle, and until 1779 she enjoyed considerable fame as a poet, playwright and essayist moving between London and Bristol, before a gradual withdrawal from the stage and London society in the 1780s. Her later career as a writer of moral tracts and anti-revolutionary fables, and as a leading figure in the evangelical movement, make it very hard to imagine her in the same setting as Chatterton. Johnson's notorious quip, that she should have married Chatterton and bred a line of Bristol poets, seems even more outrageous than Johnson intended it to be.

However, if we consider their literary output and interests up to 1779, then the parallels are considerable, though one might say that the two were doing no more than sharing the characteristic interests of the age. They each produced a mixture of elegiac and occasional verses, together with a number of verse plays. These plays shared the vogue for medievalism, with Chatterton's *Aella* followed by More's *Sir Eldred of the Bower*, *Percy* and *The Inflexible Captive*. Of course, More did not produce any parallel to the Rowley output of Chatterton, nor even enter with any energy into the Rowley controversy after his death, though she appears to have shared a Bristolian reluctance to give up the authenticity of Rowley. Nor, in public, did she produce an output of political and satirical poetry in the Churchillian style such as Chatterton developed in his last year in Bristol and then transferred to London. However, it is possible that More was engaged anonymously in such writing – she was reported to have acted as Edmund Burke's literary agent in his famous 1774 campaign to become a Bristol M.P. It is hardly surprising that the seventeen-year old Chatterton had not produced any of the moral essays which More began to publish, but there is an obvious contrast between her first play, *The Search after Happiness* (apparently performed at her sisters' school in the early 1760s when she was about seventeen),[4] and Chatterton's output. Her pious critique of worldly routes to happiness and endorsement of religious virtue for young ladies is unlikely to have appealed to one who rejected religious authority for 'Nature' and her dictates, for example in his 'Happiness, a Poem', which ends 'Friend let Inclination be thy Guide, nor be by Superstition led aside'.[5] Chatterton's article of belief that 'the Stage is the best School of Morality[6] may well have been one that More shared in the 1760s, when she was central to an effort to make the Bristol stage, like the London one under Garrick, the home of a serious Shakespearean theatre which would teach morality: her disillusionment with this project from her London experience and with Garrick's death led her to renounce this youthful view in her later writings, but it was central to her earlier work. We know that Chatterton was part of a theatre-struck group of apprentices (the 'Spouting Club'), but it is not clear whether they too favoured only the elevated drama promoted in the period by the managers Holland and Powell, or if they, like most Bristolians, wanted a broader diet more centred on comedy and display. In his poems on Powell and Holland (both of whom died in 1769, the former in Hannah More's presence), Chatterton certainly praises the same 'naturalness' and emotionality which More and her friends also valued in these actors, and singles out Shakespearean roles (Romeo, Macbeth, Richard), but there is a notable lack of emphasis on moral lessons taught, Powell being loved 'for the virtues of thy heart'.[7]

Whereas Chatterton admired the actor managers from afar, however, More was able, through the patronage of leading Bristolians, male and female, to participate fully in the city's theatrical life, attending the theatre and providing prologue and epilogues for key performances. She was closely connected with leading city clergymen such as Josiah Tucker (Dean of Gloucester but resident in Bristol as Rector of St Stephens) and Sir James Stonhouse, an evangelical clergyman,who spent most of his time at the Hotwells and provided More with an enthusiastic introductory letter to his friend Garrick. Chatterton loathed his parish clergyman, Thomas Broughton ('Hell gave us Broughton') attacking for his pride of learning and mocking for his theological writings, for example in his mock will 'my powers of utterance I give to the Revd Mr Broughton, hoping he will employ them to better purposes than reading lecturers on the immortality of the soul'.[8] This was despite, or perhaps because of, Broughton's strong literary connections: he had, for example, written the libretto to one of Handel's operas and translated Cervantes.[9] He had an uneasy relationship with the vicar of Temple, Alexander Catcott, but Catcott's Hutchinsonianism made him a marginal figure in Bristol life, as were his friends and Chatterton's chief patrons, the surgeon Barrett and the pewterers Henry Burgum and George Catcott (Alexander's eccentric brother).[10] Having captured their attention through his Rowley forgeries, Chatterton might well have concluded that he had hooked the wrong fish, which had if anything made it harder to enter the circles in which More moved. Hence, perhaps, his departure for London, but also the venom of his satirical attacks on Bristol's Anglican clergy (for example in 'The Exhibition')[11], including Tucker (as 'the hollow Dean with fairy feet', 'upright and thin' of 'Journal the 6th', who is lampooned for his aversion to marriage, his 'sermon politic' and his criticism of Burgum's generosity to 'virtue distrest') and Stonhouse ('The specious oracle, the man of noise/ The admiration of all fools and boys/ Who finds out meanings (if his talk can mean)/ In texts which Wesley dropt and left to glean', especially in the mystic writings of Jacob Behmen).[12] Against such men, Chatterton set up the freethinking distiller Michael Clayfield as his intellectual hero.[13] To date, most writers have interpreted this pattern in Chatterton's life in personal, even psychological terms.[14] But it is possible to

see them more structurally, as rational outcomes of the constraints and choices Chatterton faced, given his position and the nature of Bristol literary life.

In satirising Bristol as a place of uncultured businessmen, 'by writers fix'd eternal in disgrace',[15] Chatterton was following a traditional trope, often applied through a contrast between polished Bath and commercial Bristol. In 1674 Nicholas Crutwell had observed 'I fear the scandalous name of wit, here is a sober serious trading town, where nought's esteemed but wealth and a furr'd gown', and from Newgate gaol the indebted poet Richard Savage developed the theme at length in 1743 (Chatterton saw himself as 'another Savage to be starv'd').[16] The theme was explored more gently in William Combe's *Philosopher in Bristol*, which used the fashionable concept of the 'sentimental' to distinguish the outlook of the 'philosopher', whose sensibility was refined to grasp the significance of the scenes of daily life, from that of the mere trader or merchant who would judge everything in terms of money, or at least of industry and hard facts.[17] In humbler, but probably more influential ways, the contrast was brought out in the many ballads and fables with a Bristol setting which centred on the rival claims of love and money, interest and sensibility, in the matter of marriage. The painter and circulating library owner Edward Shiercliffe conceded that 'Bristol as a city of commerce, it would be ridiculous vanity to suppose could possess eminent literary characters before it was conceived practicable to unite merchandise with learning'. But he continued 'the expansion of the mind keeps pace with the attainments of knowledge', asserting that Bristol was then 'as polished and literary' as any city 'in the three kingdoms'.[18] He gave no date for this development, but Bristolians and visitors were wont to discover in each generation a new politeness and taste missing in previous ages. Some argued that culture and commerce were in fact interdependent, since the arts required the surplus wealth that commerce created and the road from barbarity to civilisation was based on the city and trade. The lifestyle of the merchant, in particular, with his cosmopolitan contacts and time for leisure, was just as suitable, argued Catcott's father, the headmaster of Bristol Grammar School, to the cultivation of the arts as the life of the mere gentleman. Given a decent education, either could display taste, and wealth allowed the trading elite to educate themselves and their children properly. Catcott extended his argument to craftsmen and retailers, whose work with expensive materials or in highly skilled processes also developed refined tastes and made them able to use their leisure time creatively.[19]

Many critics of the actual behaviour of Bristolians admitted that such a combination was possible. The 1742 edition of Defoe's *Tour*, like Savage's poem, contrasted petty-minded Bristolians with their London counterparts who were behaving like gentlemen (as did Chatterton)[20] while Chatterton created the Maecenas figure of William Canynges as a model of how the rich merchant could put his money to proper use. Though the industry and frugality that were believed to underlie personal success might have seemed incompatible with the Maecenas model, most Bristolians accepted that these virtues were to be balanced by sociability, generosity and the chance for rational relaxation that the arts offered. Wealth was valued because it could be embodied in social and cultural forms that others could appreciate, as the Councillor of the Sheriff's Court noted in his speech at the opening of the Exchange in 1743.[21] Indeed, Chatterton was typical of Bristolians in using the weapons of satire and panegyric to pillory the avaricious and to laud the charitable. The Muses were particularly associated with the virtues of sociability, as expressions of friendship and means to bring people together without the competitive strains of trade. Equally, however, they were distrusted for their potential to undermine urban society, precisely because their appeal to the senses was seen as a powerful one, which could easily outweigh the claims of reason. The seductive effect of the arts was particularly feared in the young, who lacked the reason and experience to establish the correct balance between industry and recreation. What was permissible in those who had established themselves in life was out of place for those without a secure position, whose devotion to pleasure could only ruin their masters or families, or prevent their own advancement. Furthermore, given the importance of credit and reputation in the commercial community, there was grave concern about the possible abuse of the literary weapons of satire and flattery. Savage's friends who told him not to bother to satirise Bristol's merchants because they would take no notice, proved less accurate than those who advised him that he would earn Bristol's hatred as an ingrate who had bitten the hands that had fed him.[22] Chatterton, more presciently, expected hatred not neglect when his satirical work was published , noting 'Tis dangerous on such men to pass a joke … Men will not have the ridicule of boys', although he also questioned its effectiveness: 'useless the satire; stoically wise, Bristol can literary rules despise'.[23] This was certainly the fate that befell his friend James Thistlethwaite, whose poem *The Consultation* not only sold in great numbers but prompted a flurry of controversy, including two verse replies, which expressed the standard

disgust for the destructive malice, personal vanity and factional scheming that was assumed to underlie such abuse of the power of literature.[24]

One way of expressing this unease was to portray certain forms of the arts as a dangerous outside influence which might damage the city, while other aspects were seen as innocent, even improving. Since many artistic practices, such as the theatre, depended heavily on visiting performers, often from overseas or trading on their London and aristocratic connection, such dangers were easily personified. Chatterton himself followed this pattern, in his comments on both music and literature, when he contrasted, for example, Italianate musicianship ('ye classic Roman-loving fools') with native simplicity, or compared the virtuous literature of Nature with corrupt forms of civilisation.[25] His patriotic preference for the English past and distaste for learned snobbery reflected this attitude, as well as his own insecurity about his lack of education in these elite forms.

Yet literature, like the other arts, was also enmeshed in the daily practices of urban society, and deployed naturally by Bristolians. It was used, for example, to mark rites of passage. Death, in particular was a major theme of Bristolian literature, from epitaphs and elegies on monuments to elegiac poems published in the newspapers or as separate publications. Although most published examples are eighteenth-century, the monumental evidence proves that this was a long-established genre.[26] Chatterton was typical in using elegies as a way to express both his ideals and his anxieties, notably in his anguished verses over the death of his role model, Phillips.[27] Love rivalled death as a favoured theme, in forms ranging from platonic pastoral to bawdy satire, and was particularly associated with youth and courtship.[28] The apprentice circle to which Chatterton belonged were adept and competitive in such compositions, though Thomas also composed love poems for his less talented friends.[29] As noted, most of the Bristol-based songs and ballads were concerned with the trials and triumphs of young couples, often in generational conflict. A keen appetite for such literature was associated by religious converts with their years of youthful folly, while those who found the subordination of service or apprenticeship irksome, like Chatterton and his friends, cherished literary and theatrical activity as an expression of autonomy, no doubt spiced by the disapproval of their elders. However, these same elders employed the arts in their sociability, especially in the public house or meeting place of clubs and societies. A famous piece of Bristol delftware, a large punchbowl painted by Thomas Flower, embodies this with its scene of drinking and music-making, with the song's words and music painted around the side.[30] Much of Bristol's literary output, both in print and manuscript, was produced for such settings, from Crutwell's *Bristol Drollery* to the *Odes, Elegies, Songs etc* of James Brown (Bristol, 1786) or John Bryant's *Verses*, several of which are composed for clubs meeting in public houses. Bryant's literary career began because he was wont to sing for his supper and passage when crossing to Wales to sell the tobacco pipes he made, and he was heard by a gentleman who was (fashionably) interested in his untutored versifying.[31] No doubt the *Merry Miscellany* published by James Sketchley in 1775, which has not survived, was of similar nature. Chatterton's father wrote at least one song for a club at the Pineapple tavern, although his son, ever aiming high, wrote burlettas for the London pleasure-gardens rather than songs for local innkeepers (one of whom, Lawrence, he satirised for his literary pretensions).[32] Unsurprisingly, these songs often celebrate the pleasures of drink, though 'Ebriety' (a poem included in a 1751 publication by a 'gentleman of Bristol) sought to establish the delicate distinction between drunken excess and convivial plenty.[33] Some invited those listening to cast aside their cares and disagreements and escape into their soothing charms, but others sought to express group ideals and engender solidarity: many of Brown's songs, for example, being for Freemasons. Occasional poems and songs were also produced for political and charitable societies. Another common site for literary composition and performance, were the city's coffeehouses. In 1721 a poet was accused of gaining his inspiration from the fumes of coffee and several poems appearing in the papers were written from the coffeehouses. In Chatterton's day, the most notorious poet of this kind was a customs officer, Robert Collins, who wrote at the Assembly Coffeehouse.[34] Chatterton launched several attacks at this Collins, which have been mistakenly thought to refer to an earlier writer, the unorthodox clergyman Emmanuel Collins.[35]

The Assembly Coffeehouse reflected in its name the growing world of fashionable assemblies in the town, which were catering not just to Bristolians but to the clientele of the Hotwells. Spas generally became centres for literature, usually of an introspective or satirical character, and Bristol was no exception, with Hotwells residents contributing a steady flow of letters, poems and essays to both the Bristol papers and

London magazines. An anonymous visitor, possibly Robert Whatley, wrote *Characters at the Hotwell* (London, 1724), 'a gentleman at the Wells' published *Bristol Wells* (Bristol, 1749) and *The Register of Folly* (London, 1773) satirised both Bath and Bristol society. William Combe published a poem on *Clifton* (Bristol, 1775) as well as his *Philosopher in Bristol*. Bristolian contributions to this literature were largely satirical, exposing the false and ridiculous in the social pretensions both of the idle at the Wells and of the Bristolians who imitated them. They included *The Celebrated Beauties*, and its several responses, the *Badinages* of Bristol and Bath physician Dr Winter (composed in the 1720s, though they were not published until 1744) and the poems around 1770 of Chatterton, Thistlethwaite and their friends, published both locally and in the *Town and Country Magazine*.[36] In the same genre, though satirising the Bristol merchant and politician Henry Cruger, was the 1775 play *The Squire in his Chariot*, by Chatterton's friend Thomas Cary, in which the nouveau riche merchant Insolent and his wife are portrayed ostentatiously entertaining and travelling (in the eponymous chariot) to assemblies and concerts. Their poetry lampooned the authors who flattered the visitors in hope of patronage, such as William Whitehead in his *Hymn to the Nymph of Bristol Spring* (London, 1751) and Henry Jones in his *Clifton* (Bristol, 1767 and 1773), but later Bristolians such as John Bryant and Anne Yearsley were to seek support from the same source.[37] The link with fashion and genteel visitors underlined the image of the writer as a gentleman of leisure, exploring gentlemanly themes. Although no doubt often true, there is a certain inevitability in the claim of local poets that their works were the amusement of their leisure hours, often composed on country walks and intended only for the amusement of a circle of friends. Much of the poetry by city residents respected the traditional themes of genteel literature, and especially its elevation of the rustic and pastoral, transposing the themes of friendship, sociability and content from an urban to a rural setting, with nature as the innocent source of inspiration, in sharp contrast to the hectic and ambivalent pleasures of urban society.

One reason for this may have been the lack of an established model for urban poetry except for the city satire of Juvenal. When William Goldwin, clergyman and schoolmaster, was searching for respectable antecedents for his poetic *Description of Bristol* (London, 1712, revised by Isaac Smart as *A Description of the Ancient and Famous City of Bristol,* 1751), he could only point to the recent topographic poems in Italy by Addison (like himself, a moderate Whig) and Cooper's Hill by Denham, neither exactly urban. Goldwin did not want to be satirical, although at one point in the poem he nearly fell into the vein, before drawing back. He might have adopted the historical mode used by the anonymous author of a 1728 poem on Bristol preserved by a local annalist, James Stewart, which traces the city as a heroic character through the ages, but this approach could not easily encompass the modern glory which Goldwin wished to bring out.[38] He was therefore compelled to adopt a topographic approach, despite the uneasy transition between topics which he realised this would entail. Later writers faced the same dilemma. Most of those who sought to praise the city followed the topographic path, but in doing so found themselves skirting the life of the city and instead portraying the countryside around. Both visitors and local poets published regularly on Abbots Leigh, Henbury, Kingsdown, the Royal Fort and, above all, Clifton, in which Bristol proper appeared as a glorious vision of commercial prosperity on the poetic horizon.[39] Rhetorically it was hailed as a nobler theme even than nature, but nobody was sure how to encompass it, unless satirically. Once again Chatterton can be seen facing characteristic issues, only to respond in a uniquely creative fashion. While some of his verse adopted the same rustic perspective, and in 1769 he turned to outright satire, his Rowley poetry sought to recreate the multi-faceted reality of city life, through the complex prism of earlier centuries and the voices of supposed poets (late medieval Rowley copying early medieval Turgot, for example). One advantage to Chatterton of Rowley was that he could use the contrast (largely implicit) between medieval and modern Bristol to combine panegyric of the city with condemnation of its modern shortcomings, as summarised in his mock legacy: 'To Bristol all my spirit and disinterestedness, parcells of goods unknown on her key since the days of Canynge and Rowley'.[40] Moreover, in the guise of Rowley he could speak with an authority unavailable to the individual Bristolian, let alone a poor adolescent. Many Bristolians, however, felt emboldened to comment on civic life and events and there was a general sense that putting one's comments in verse gave them greater weight, especially if expressed through a pseudonym such as Bristoliensis or Civis, which laid claim to a representative character.[41]

Famously, Chatterton first introduced Rowley to the press through a poem linked to the opening of the new Bristol Bridge. Much of Bristol's earlier literature had also celebrated such civic occasions, such as royal visits, thanksgivings, fasts, or anniversaries. For example, the coronation of 1761 was the subject of an ode printed off from a float manned by the Bristol printers during the processions to mark the day. Ordinary

Bristolians used verse in public controversy, for example in 1732, when the weavers had an acrostic called Stephen Fechams' Rod printed to mark the flight from the city in disgrace of a hated employer and another poem recorded the pillorying of a sodomist called Baggs.[42] Political meetings and activities were also recorded in verse, both in ephemeral publications and in larger works, such as collections of materials surrounding various elections. Not surprisingly therefore, there were rival ideological traditions within literary circles. William Goldwin's poem of 1712 reflected his Whig sympathies and patronage by the city Corporation and followed the Addisonian model of seeking to rise above party dispute through polite culture, which meant in effect an endorsement of the establishment in church, state and city. By contrast, those who wrote in satiric mode adopted one of the range of oppositionist politics available in Bristol at this period. The chief Tory poet of the period from the 1730s to his death in 1767 was Emanuel Collins, a maverick clergyman turned innkeeper and schoolmaster, who tormented the Whig establishment with many poems in the newspapers, a hudibrastic verse rendering of a ministerialist sermon called *Unity and Loyalty Recommended* (Bristol, 1754) and his *Miscellanies in Prose and Verse* (1762), as well as various manuscript poems.[43]During the 1754 election contest the Tories produced most of the songs, fables and other fictional works, while the Whigs, coordinated by Josiah Tucker, concentrated on more factual arguments. But the next year the Whigs retaliated with their own verse dialogue on the Bristol Watch-Bill, written as a dialogue between two down-cast Tories, which included attacks on Collins.[44] After a 1756 by-election there was a gradual realignment of political allegiances as Wilkite radicalism and the American crisis cut across traditional Whig-Tory divisions, but most political verse remained oppositionist. In the 1774 election (the next one to be properly contested) the Tory surgeon Richard Smith (brother of Chatterton's friend William) was active composing squibs for Matthew Brickdale, together with some Tory clergymen and the Customs Officer Robert Collins whom Chatterton had attacked, while the main authors on the Cruger and Burke side were James Thistlethwaite and Richard Jenkins.[45] The Cruger supporters, in particular, inherited the patriot tradition of verse attacking corruption in the name of liberty, whose chief inspiration was Charles Churchill.[46] There was an uneasy alliance between them and Burke's supporters from the literary circle around Hannah More, which included Quakers and Anglican evangelicals, who shared a devotion to liberty and a fear of moral corruption, but lacked the alienation from the establishment which sharpened the pens of the Cruger writers. It is seems unlikely that Chatterton would have been in the Burke camp, but he might have been more torn between the Tory satirical tradition which reflected the views of his Rowleyan patrons, and the Crugerite sympathies of most of his youthful friends (he distrusted Cruger, no doubt reflecting the views of his friend Cary who was his apprentice).[47]

Closely connected with these political issues was the question of religion. Arguably, religion was the strongest single factor in Bristol's literary life. The clergy (Anglican and dissenting) formed the city's literary elite, and religious themes and genres shaped most of the literary output, such that much of that output was evaluated as much, if not more, for its religious meaning as for any autonomous cultural worth. It was therefore inevitable that Chatterton would spend much if his energy in critical commentary on the Bristol clergy (even his love poetry tends to digress into an attack on them),[48] and find himself both drawn to, and repulsed by, the religious forms and messages which this literature addressed: his freethinking outbursts may be seen as an expression of independence but one which, he well recognised, was likely to put him outside the pale of Bristol literature. His poetry regularly defends himself against the accusation that 'He's atheistical in every strain' and acknowledges 'priests are powerful foes'.[49] During the 1760s, for example, two new translations of the Bible were undertaken in Bristol, by the Quaker Anthony Purver and the Unitarian minister Edward Harwood, while others published verse paraphrases of parts of the Bible.[50] In addition to prayers and elegies, Bristolians committed to verse their religious philosophies, hoping that notions shared in this form would be more attractive and memorable than prose accounts. One such writer was Stephen Penny, a Behmenist like Stonehouse and also satirised by Chatterton.[51] Two clergymen, John Needham and Thomas Janes, published collections of moral and sacred poems, including their own work, in part to provide children with suitable anthologies of uplifting verse, and Needham's collection, *Select Lessons in Prose and Verse* (Bristol, 1755, 1765 and 1778) which first published More's 'Ode to Charity', may well have been used by his co-pastor William Foot in his school (attended by the young Robert Southey).[52]

To take one genre, the writing of hymns was a major aspect of Bristol literary production from the seventeenth century onwards. The most famous contributor was Charles Wesley, resident in Bristol throughout Chatterton's life, and an active patron of both male and female authors in Bristol and Bath.

Methodism generally invested heavily in hymns, and many of the Wesleyan hymns were published in Bristol by the Farleys and William Pine; it was the profit from one such publication that enabled Charles to buy his Bristol house.[53] But other denominations were also active, such as John Beddome (father of the better-known Benjamin), John Needham and several teachers and pupils of the Baptist Education Society (one of whose masters taught Hannah More classics). Caleb Evans, who also taught there, published one of the earliest hymn collections in 1769 jointly with a former pupil, John Ash. In 1756 Robert Williamson had published another collection in Bristol under Moravian auspices.[54] Many of the laity also tried their hands at hymns (or psalms), in the papers or elsewhere and devout young Christians such as Mary Stokes (later Dudley) wrote hymns on their spiritual condition.[55] The monotonous metre of traditional psalm settings or the 'ballad' style of some hymns came immediately to mind when poets sought to criticize the ear of other versifiers. Chatterton, one of whose earliest poems is a hymn on Christmas day, attacked Methodist hymns as 'bawdy songs turned godly'.[56] Apart from this rather trite criticism, Chatterton appears to have known, or cared, little about the vibrant nonconformist culture of the city, focussing both his love and his hate on the Church of England.

There was, however, considerable latent tension in this religious literature. In part this was the tension between the ecumenical role which many ascribed to their work, transcending denomination and divisive theology to express common Christian values and bring the soul to a feeling for God, and the denominational advantage which might be gained, or feared, if literature was used to win particular audiences or sweeten the acceptance of particular doctrines. This danger seemed the more likely since many of those who used literary forms did so almost apologetically, not only disclaiming literary merit, but drawing a distinction between the religious 'kernel' (as Penny put it) and the rhetorical shell in literature and justifying the latter as a concession to the regrettable desire of humans to crave external pleasure. Verse was a means to reach those who would not read plain prose and to fix ideas in the memory. One elegy to Phillips expressed all these ideas in claiming of his work, 'Religion in this flow'ry diction veil'd, Convinced the soul where rigid doctrine fail'd'[57]. As the Bible lost its relative primacy to a stream of other literature, authors such as Harwood or More attempted to restate Biblical truths in polished literary form. But again this was a deeply ambiguous process as it was only adding to the flood of literature which many feared was distracting the public from the traditional religious and moral truths (expressed particularly in critiques of both novels and the theatre). Authors who attempted this were also open to accusations that they were exploiting sacred subjects with an unworthy aim or inadequate talent to do them justice.

The force of this argument owed much to a general uncertainty about the propriety of publication per se. Hannah More's first publication, *The Search after Happiness* was prefaced by the standard claim that the work was only being published to scotch the circulation of imperfect copies (which might be true in that case, since the work had been written some twelve years before). The subsequent performance of this play and her next, *The Inflexible Captive*, and her emergence as a public literary figure in Bristol, was orchestrated by a press campaign which made her appear the passive respondent to public demand, not the active seeker of fame.[58] The convention remained strong that an author should avoid publication, unless urged by friends that the public good required a wider circulation, and even then anonymous or pseudonymous authorship would demonstrate a lack of ambition for fame. Dedicating the work to a body such the Corporation or the Society of Merchant Venturers or to patrons could support the impression that the author was seeking their glory, not his own. Above all the author had to avoid the imputation of seeking financial reward. This might be done by donating the profits to charity or even by giving away the printed piece to friends. The literary hack who wrote for money was a figure to be despised. It was also recognised that literary work could be advantageous without money passing hands, and there was a similar distrust of the writer who wrote to order, flattering his patron. For example, the accusations against Robert Collins of seeking to become Bristol's 'poet laureate' in the 1760s were not merely for his lack of necessary talent, but for sacrificing his literary independence to win the favour of the Corporation.[59] Chatterton toys repeatedly with the tempting notion that 'Flattery's a cloak and I will put it on', abandoning 'stigmatizing satyre' and 'come panegyric, adulation haste, and sing this wonder of mercantile taste', before passionately rejecting such a betrayal of his genius.[60] Many dedications were no doubt unsolicited and they might veer close to blackmail, inviting the 'patron' to buy up the work to prevent its publication under his name, as James Thistlethwaite attempted to do with his scurrilous poem *The Consultation*. Henry Burgum, the dedicatee, felt obliged to draw maximum attention to the affair in an attempt to vindicate his honour, printing five hundred copies of a pamphlet vindicating himself at his own expense. The case illustrated the

strains imposed when a system that was wellsuited to publications by literary amateurs, wishing to establish their credentials to be heard on the public stage, was used instead by an aspiring professional writer.[61]

This requirement for independence, of financial reward and clientage, both built on and reinforced the image of the literary life as one for those whose profession or leisure time fitted them for such disinterested participation. The most active participants were the professions, clergymen (and schoolmasters, many clerical), lawyers and medical men formed an intelligentsia who were the most active subscribers to books and dabblers in verse. A number of revenue officers played an active part and the service was used occasionally to reward talented figures. The merchant community contained many supporters of the arts, but very few ventured to publish. The linendraper John Peach, a friend of David Hume from his Bristol days, had a great reputation for his love and cultivation of literature and was apparently a central figures in More's literary education, but none of his own work can be identified nor of Michael Clayfield, the distiller whom Chatterton so much appreciated. A similar silence in public applies to the numerous patronesses of the arts, such as Hannah More's chief patron, Mrs Gwatkin and her friend the Quaker newspaper proprietress Sarah Farley, or the circle of women around Charles Wesley. [62]To come into the public eye was, for anyone outside the liberal professions, to have one's credentials for publication subject to the most intense scrutiny. Hannah More's own failure to publish under her own name until 1773 despite a decade or more of literary prominence, reflects this, and her own writings express her struggles over the propriety of such action. She wavers uneasily between a spirited defence of the right and ability of women to engage in literary activity, and an admission that women should not expect to be scholars or artists of the first rank, but concentrate on developing a polished talent to appreciate and cultivate literary worth in men, She satirises men who grumble at women for leaving their needles and cooking books for culture, as well as other women who gossiped at tea about such females, accusing them of artful wiles and undue forwardness in trying to catch the men, and of using literature to conceal their plainness and want of real femininity. Yet she also rebukes not only, as one would expect, the ignorant miss and the romantic sentimentalist lost in a world of novels and plays, but also the lover of fine literature and would-be scholar for neglecting the primary place of virtue and religion in female education.[63]

It would be wrong, however, to see gender as the only issue. The association of literature with 'gentility' meant that the social status of the author was also in question. This is very clear in the case of Henry Burgum, whose involvement with Thistlethwaite has already been noted. Burgum's passion for the arts, especially music, led him to neglect his pewtering business and he eventually went bankrupt. But even when solvent, he was liable to criticism for attempting to go beyond his station: during a dispute between two rival concert series, for example, his opponents gleefully blamed the organisational problems besetting a Cathedral oratorio on their management by a 'set of tradesmen' unaccustomed to 'transactions of that nature'.[64] Chatterton himself famously traded on Burgum's pretensions in producing the false pedigree of the 'De Burghums' for him). Yet, interestingly, on a number of other occasions he uses Burgum as a foil to his clerical targets, praising Burgum's genuine passion in contrast to their false pride and insincerity ('I'd rather be a Burgum than a saint'.[65]Central to this trope is Burgum's lack of classical education, for which he is sneered at by his detractor 'who damns good English if not Latinized', but praised by Chatterton, who hints at a true gentility in the English honesty and generosity of Burgum.[66]

Education may indeed be seen as the single most critical issue, besides leisure time, in determining the social spread of literary activity. Chatterton felt deeply ambivalent about his lack of a liberal education, especially in the classical languages, expressing throughout his poetry both despair ('O Education, ever in the wrong, to thee the curses of mankind belong, thou first great author of our future state, chief source of our religion, passions, fate') and defiance: 'O learning, where are all thy fancy's joys, Thy empty pleasures and thy solemn toys, Proud of thy own importance'.[67] Indeed, one way of interpreting his use of Rowleyan language on the one hand, and of Churchillian satire on the other, is that these were two genres where he could operate outside the classical framework. Had Chatterton attended the Bristol Grammar School, like Stephen Love junior (whose father had replaced Chatterton senior as Pile Street teacher and expelled the young Thomas), then he would have been subjected to an intensive study of classical literature, and been expected to compose verse and even perform publicly at the school visitations and the annual 5 November oration, which the young Love gave in 1759. Love went on to become a clergyman and Stonehouse's curate, and when he died young in 1773, Stonehouse persuaded Hannah More to write the elegy for his monument in Bristol Cathedral).[68] The two masters from 1712 to 1743, Goldwin and Catcott senior, were

both published poets themselves and encouraged their pupils: in 1737 Catcott published the visitation verses. Emanuel Collins was one of Catcott's pupils and expressed his appreciation for his master in his *Miscellanies* of 1762. Catcott had been banned by the Corporation from staging a school play in 1739, but in 1773 and 1774 such plays were performed, with More writing a poem to be recited by Lovell Gwatkin, her patroness's son, at the latter.[69] It was enthusiastically reviewed in the papers, with a comment that such performances were ideal experience for young men intended for 'the senate, the pulpit or the bar', to which one might add medicine, as most of Bristol's medical community, many of whom cultivated literary tastes, were grammar-school educated, such as Dr Francis Woodward, whose juvenile verse appeared in Catcott's 1737 volume.[70] By contrast, Chatterton's formal curriculum at Colston's Hospital was limited to the 3Rs, in preparation for a career in trade or at sea.

However, the picture was more complex than this suggests. We know that Chatterton and his circle were in fact encouraged in poetry by the school usher. If this was unusual in a 'charity' school, there was a growing vogue for literature in the rapidly increasing number of schools for both boys and girls which offered an English education which encompassed such subjects as history, geography and elocution; 'Astrea Brokage' is Chatterton's example of a girl at such a school, torn between a rich young admirer and her 'literary lover', perhaps Thomas himself. [71]While the school run by the More sisters became the best known girls' school in Bristol of this kind, it was one of many, and there were equally eminent boys' schools. For example, in 1768 Miss Roscoe, from an acting family, was praised for her pains in teaching recitation at her girls' school, while John Jones both ran a school and offered elocution classes: one of his elocution pupils in 1773 was Thomas Cary.[72] Increasingly these schools could boast that, in contrast to the grammar schools, they could offer their pupils an introduction not only to modern English literature, but also to the classical inheritance, which was now so easily accessible through the mass of translations and commentaries, as published by Dodsley 'whose collection of modern and antique poems are in every library'.[73] The English poet could now appropriate classical mythology, as well as writing in heroic couplets and other neo-classical verse types which, while decorous and genteel, gave amateur poets the confidence that they were writing proper poetry. Significantly, the so-called 'uneducated poets', Bryant and Yearsley, who were 'discovered' by Robert Southey and the More circle as examples of 'popular verse' in the tradition of Percy's *Reliques*, were actually far from illiterate and took every opportunity to learn more about the classics and to read books, which led both of them to end up in the book trade.[74]

Throughout his poetry, Chatterton engaged in an impassioned debate, both with his patrons and himself, about what sort of a literary career he could forge for himself in Bristol. Once he had decided that debate by departing for London, it was all too easy for him, and subsequent commentators, to adopt the simple judgment that a trading city was not a possible home for a budding poet, let alone a 'mad genius'.[75] A closer reading of his writings, as well as of the literary life of Bristol in this period, reveals that he was actually very conscious of a whole series of opportunities and choices available in Bristol, but that none of these were acceptable to him. Deploying the tropes of the time, Chatterton portrayed these choices in stark terms, as requiring him to abandon his independence for a servile flattery, giving up his freedom of thought (above all on religion) and to accept that he should earn his living by other means and develop his literary career as a leisure pursuit. The advice of his patrons and his master, Lambert, that he should train as a surgeon or lawyer's clerk was rejected so passionately precisely because it was, by Bristol standards, good advice, for anyone who wished to write poetry and participate in a rich literary scene, but impossible advice for one consumed with a desire to make a career as a writer. Unlike Stephen Love, neither his schooling nor his beliefs would allow him to train for the church, where writing was an integral part of the career, and unlike Hannah More, he could not justify to himself a slowly developing career which accepted the patronage of others and the early avoidance of fame and controversy which could, in the longer term, allow even a woman to enter the public domain with impunity. Chatterton understood profoundly the terms of literary life in Bristol, and could deploy them to satirise others, but he was unable to resolve their contradictions as they applied to him, except by a mock suicide and a new life in London.

[1] E.H.W. Meyerstein, *The Life of Thomas Chatterton* (London, 1930); D.S. Taylor, *Thomas Chatterton's Art* (Princeton, 1978); N. Groom (ed), 'Narratives of Forgery', *Angelaki* 1:2 (Winter 1993/4); N. Groom (ed.), *Thomas Chatterton and Romantic Culture*(Basingstoke, 1999). The main exception is Georges Lamoine, *La vie litteraire de Bath et de Bristol 1750-1800* 2 vols (Lille, 1978).
[2] A. Stott, *Hannah More: The First Victorian* (Oxford, 2003). See also M.A. Hopkins, *Hannah More and her Circle* (New York and Toronto, 1947); M. G. Jones, *Hannah More* (Cambridge, 1952); H. Thompson, *The Life of Hannah More* (London, 1838); W. Roberts, *Memoirs of the Life and Correspondence of Hannah More* 4 vols (London, 1834); *Life of Hannah More* (London, 1856).
[3] D.S. Taylor (ed), *The Complete Works of Thomas Chatterton* (hereafter CW) 2 vols but continuously paginated (Oxford, 1971) 383)
[4] A poem with this title appeared in *Felix Farley's Bristol Journal* 1 Aug. 1761. Other poems probably by More can be found in ibid. 18 Jan. 1766, 15 Aug. 1767, 5 Aug. 1769. Poems on her and her work include ibid. 31 May 1766, 15, 22 and 29 May 1773,
[5] CW 408.
[6] CW 426
[7] CW 158, 339-40, 344 and possibly 698-9.
[8] CW 414-17, 542, 547-9.
[9] See DNB and W. Dean, *Handel's Dramatic Oratorios* (London, 1959), 414-33.
[10] CW 339, 405, 501-2 and passim for Catcott.
[11] CW 546-55.
[12] CW 365-9; 550.For Stonhouse see T. Stedman (ed), *Letters from the Reverend Job Orton and Sir James Stonhouse* 2 vols (Shrewsbury, 1800).
[13] CW 393-4, 416, 504.
[14] L.J. Kaplan, *The Family Romance of the Impostor-Poet* (Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1987). For a similar approach to More see E. Kowaleski-Wallace, *Their Fathers' Daughters* (New York and Oxford, 1991).
[15] CW 462
[16] N.C[rutwell], *Bristol Drollery* (London, 1674), 37; R. Savage, *London and Bristol Delineated* (London, 1743); CW 453-4, 465-6, 528.
[17] W. Combe, *The Philosopher in Bristol* 2 parts (Bristol, 1775).
[18] E. Shiercliffe, *Bristol and Hotwell Guide* 4th edn (Bristol, 1794), 106.
[19] A.S. Catcott, *Antiquity and Honour of Commerce* (Bristol, 1744), 15. Cf. J. Tucker, *Four Tracts and Two Sermons* (Gloucester, 1774), 28-31.
[20] D. Defoe, *Tour through the Whole Island of Great Britain* 2 vols (London, 1742), II: 268; CW 561 and 572
[21] *Gentleman's Magazine* 12 (1743), 496-7.
[22] Bristol Central Library, Bristol Collection 26064 fo. 178; *[Bristol] Oracle and Country Advertiser,* 31 Aug. 1745.
[23] CW 377-8, 405-6, 464-6, 524.
[24] J. Thistlethwaite, *The Consultation* (Bristol, 1774 and 1775); R. Jenkins, *The Retaliation* (Bristol, 1775); N. Walker, *Cursory Remarks* (Bristol, 1775); Bristol Central Library Bristol Collection 20095 7 Jan. 1775; *Felix Farley's Bristol Journal* 7 and 14 Jan. and 11 Feb. 1775; *Bonner and Middleton's Bristol Journal* 25 March 1775; *Bristol Gazette* 19 Jan. 1775.
[25] CW 168-70.

[26] E.g. *Elegiac and other Poems in Honour of A.R. Hawksworth* (Bristol, 1769); *Elegy on Death of Rev. Thomas Janes* (Brstol, 1775); I.M. Roper, *Monmental Effigies of Gloucester and Bristol* (Gloucester, 1931).
[27] CW 383-94.
[28] E.g. J. Hewitt, *Miscellanies in Prose and Verse with Letters of Love and Gallantry* (Bristol, 1727).
[29] CW 158-64, 257, 423, 427, 431, 507-8, 559, 571, 601, 683, 686; *Town and Country Magazine* 2 (1770), 105, 216-17, 552, 664, 711, 714.
[30] F. Britton, *English Delftware in the Bristol Collection* (London, 1982), 110-11.
[31] J.F. Bryant, *Verses* (London, 1787), xxv, xxvii-xxx, 22-32.
[32] Meyerstein, *Life*, 8; CW 353-4, 562, 631-9, 993.
[33] *Poems on Several Subjects* (Bristol, 1751), 13, 24.
[34] Bodleian Library MSS Gough Somerset 2, fos 153-8 on 'Nokes'; *Felix Farley's Bristol Journal* from 12 Oct. 1765 and *Bristol Journal* from 2 Nov. 1765 on Collins.
[35] CW 353, 540.
[36] *The Celebrated Beauties* (Bristol, 1720) and Bodl. MSS Gough Somerset 2, fos 150-2; *Les badinages de Monsieur Wynter* (London, 1744); *Felix Farley's Bristol Journal* 18 June 1768, 16 Dec. 1769, 25 July 1772 (on 'mushroom poets' at Hotwells); *Bristol Journal* 20 July 1771; *Town and Country Magazine* 3 (1771), 70-2, 209, 316, 353, 697 and 4 (1772), 150-2, 314-15 and 6 (1774), 214.
[37] CW 516, 540.
[38] W. Goldwin, *Poetical Description of Bristol* (London, 1712), preface, dedication, 2, 10; Bodleian MSS Gough Somerset 2 fo. 162. See Bristol Central Library Bristol Collection 6485 for Goldwin's other poetry including a 'Description of Clifton' published in *Bristol Weekly Intelligencer* 2 June 1750.
[39] CW 341, 379; J. Dolman, *Contemplations among Vicent's Rocks* (Bristol, 1755); W. Tasker, *Poetical Encomium on Trade* (London, 1779; first published in *Felix Farley's Bristol Journal* 23 Aug. 1777); W. Heard, *Sentimental Journey to Bath and Bristol* (London, 1779); *Felix Farley's Bristol Journal* 8 Oct. 1774 (advertisement for *Abbot's Leigh: A Poem* by Richard Jenkins); E. Davies, *Blaise Castle* (Bristol, 1783)
[40] CW 504
[41] *Felix Farley's Bristol Journal* 8 March 1766 contains a complaint about young upstarts seeking an authoritative voice through versifying.
[42] *Art and Mystery of Printing* (Bristol, 1761); *Gloucester Journal* 28 March 1732; Bodleian MSS Gough Somerset 2, fos 166-70.
[43] The manuscripts are in the Bristol Central Library Bristol Collection 956, 1564-5, 4521 fo. 281, 9794, 26064 fos 180-2. He also satirised the Methodists, almost certainly composing *The Progress of Methodism* (Bristol, 1743) as well as attacks on them in the newspaper, *Bristol, Bath and Somerset Journal*, he coedited at that time.
[44] *The Bristol Contest* (Bristol, 1755); Bristol Central Library Bristol Collection 10950, 10961, 10968-9, 10973-4; *Felix Farley's Bristol Journal* 19 Jan., 13 July and 21 Dec. 1754, 3 April 1756; *Bristol Watch Bill* (Bristol, 1755); Bodleian G.A. Glos B4a fo. 67; *Bristol Chronicle* 28 March 1761.
[45] Bristol Archives Office, Bristol Infirmary Memoirs vol. 1 fo. 162; CW 352-3; *Bristol Journal* 20 Feb., 19 March 1768; *Bonner and Middleton's Bristol Journal* 21 Oct. 1775.
[46] *Churchill, an Elegy* by 'a Gentleman of Bristol' (Bristol, 1765); *Felix Farley's Bristol Journal* 1 Dec. 1764, 11 July 1767; *Bristol Journal* 25 May 1765; Thistlethwaite, *Consultation*, 37, 46; idem, *The Tories in the Dumps* (Bristol, 1775); idem, *Prediction of Liberty* (1776); E. Gardner, *Liberty: a Poem* (Bristol ,1776)
[47] *Bonner and Middleton's Bristol Journal* 12 Nov. 1774 (advertising *The Voice of the People: a Poem to Cruger and Burke*) and 25 Feb. 1775 (advertising *A Gratulatory Poem to the Electors of Bristol*); Lamoine, *Vie litteraire* II:782 nn. 111-1; Thompson, *Life of More*, 25-6; CW 2, 394, 452, 512, 525-6, 546; *Town and Country Magazine* 3 (1771), 60-2, 353, 697, 1075.
[48] CW 424, 508.
[49] CW 422, 466.
[50] For Purver see Bristol Central Library Bristol Collection, 16047 and his *A Poem to the Praise of God* (Bristol, 1748). For Harwood, *A Liberal Translation of the New Testament* (London, 1767); *Felix Farley's Bristol Journal* 3 Jan. and 28 Feb. 1767 and 15 April 1769; CW 768.
[51] CW 412, 415, 422; S. Penny, *Letters on Fall and Restoration of Mankind* (Bristol, 1765); idem, *An Incentive to the Love of God* (Bristol, 1769).

[52] J. Needham, *Hymns Devotional and Moral* (Bristol, 1768); T. Janes, *Beauties of the Poets* (London, 1773?; 4th edn, 1792); R. Southey, *Life and Correspondence* ed. C.C. Southey 6 vol s (London, 1849), I: 44-6. Southey's next master, Joseph Flower, was also a religious poet (J. Flower, *The Prodigal Son* (Bath, 1771).
[53] R. Young, *Mrs Chapman's Portrait* (Bath, 1926); C. Wesley, *Journal* ed. T. Jackson (London, 1849) 46.
[54] E. Sharpe, 'Bristol Baptist College and the Church's Hymnody', *Baptist Quarterly* N.S. 28 (1979-80) 7-16. R. Williamson, *Collection of Hymns* (Bristol, 1756).
[55] M. Dudley, *Life* (London, 1825), 6-8.
[56] CW 4-5, 466-7.
[57] Penny, *Incentive*, preface; *Felix Farley's Bristol Journal* and *Bristol Journal* 11 Nov. 1769.
[58] *Bristol Journal* 30 July, 6 and 13 Aug. 1774; *Felix Farley's Bristol Journal* 23 July 1774.
[59] *Felix Farley's Bristol Journal* 12 Oct. to 21 Dec. 1765 and 26 April 1766; *Bristol Journal* 19 Oct. and 21 Dec. 1765.
[60] CW 377-8, 466.
[61] See nn 24, 46 above; *Felix Farley's Bristol Journal* 7 and 14 Jan. and 11 Feb. 1775; *Bristol Gazette* 19 Jan. 1775; H. Burgum, *Narrative of Facts* (Bristol, 1775)
[62] *Bristol Journal* 29 May 1773 (Gwatkin) and 24 Sept. 1774 (Peach); Thompson, *Life of More*, 398-92; Young, *Mrs Chapman's Portrait*.
[63] *Felix Farley's Bristol Journal* 5 March 1768 and reply *Bristol Journal* 2 July 1768*;* More, *Search*; idem, *Essays on Various Subjects* (London, 1777), 15-19, 178;
[64] Meyerstein, *Life,* 136, 147-50; *Felix Farley's Bristol Journal* 2 April and 7 May 1774; *Bristol Journal* 2 and 9 April 1774; *Bristol Gazette* 7 and 14 April 1774.
[65] CW 316-38, 368-9, 418, 501.
[66] CW 406, 418, 519-20. 'Burgum has parts; parts which would set aside, The labour'd acquisitions of your pride. Uncultivated now his genius lies .. The owls of learning may admire the night, But Burgum shines with reasons glowing light'.
[67] CW 407, 417
[68] Bristol Central Library, Bristol Collection 20095 18 Oct. 1773; Bodleian G.A. Glos B4A nos 94, 98.
[69] A.W. Oxford, *William* Goldwin (Bristol, 1911); A.S. Catcott, *Exercises Performed at Visitation of Grammar School* (Bristol, 1737); Collins, *Miscellanies,* 137-142*;* Bristol Archives Office, Corporation Vouchers box 1739; *Bristol Journal* 17 April 1773 and 9 April 1774; Hopkins, *Hannah More*, 248-9. Edward Gardner recalled versifying with Gwatkin at the school in *Miscellanies in Prose and Verse* 2 vols (Bristol, 1798), II: 143.
[70] Bristol Archives Office, Bristol Infirmary Memoirs I:125; C. Walsh, *Bookseller of the Last Century* (London, 1881), 142; *Felix Farley's Bristol Journal* 2 April 1774.
[71] CV 431-2.
[72] *Bristol Journal* 28 May 1768; *Bristol Journal* 4 and 27 Nov. 1773; *Town and Country Magazine* 3 (1771), 353.
[73] CW 339.
[74] R. Southey, *Lives and Works of the Uneducated Poets* (London, 1831); A. Yearsley, *Poems on Several Occasions* (London, 1785), preface by More (p. x for Chatterton comparison); Bryant, *Verses*, vi, xxxi-xxxv; Lamoine, *Vie litteraire* I: 152-3, 334-41. On this see B. Keegan, 'Nostalgic Chatterton' in Groom (ed), *Thomas Chatterton*, 210-27.
[75] CW 503.